(Presented at the Seminar Conducted in the Centenary of Giusseppe Tucci's Birth, 1894–1994)

Nepalese Culture of Post Ancient Times

HARI RAM JOSHI

Hanuman Dhoka, 23 January, 1995

0899419
5,
6n

306.095496
J476h

Hari Ram Joshi

Nepalese Culture of Post Ancient Times

Nepal was known to the Aryan world from the very Vedic times. There are some scholars of repute who indicate towards the fact that the Nepal caste so to say the Newars had come into existence during the very Vedic period. Sukra Raj Shastri, a great martyr, had quoted a line like नेव मांसे नपीवसी from Atharvaveda. From the basis of the line quoted Shree Shastri had come into conclusion that the historicity of the Newars of Nepal went back up to the Vedic times and they were vegetarians and did not take meat. It is yet to be ascertained whether the conclusion he has made on the basis of the above line is certainly conclusive or not. But, Nepal is found to be mentioned in the Kurma Vibhaga of Atharvaparishishta. In that scripture Nepal is recorded with other different countries. From this fact it is found out precisely that Nepal was recognized as a country in the Aryan world from the very aforesaid time.

From the study of Kautilya Arthashastra it comes to be known that during the fourth century B.C. blanket industry in Nepal was in flourishing state and its trade was spread up to foreign lands i.e. India. A fine description about Nepal is to be found in a treatise namely Mulsarvastivad Vinaya, composed by Acharya Jinamitra of sixth century A.C. During the last journey of Lord Buddha at Sravasti the merchants of that region had gone to Nepal for their trade purpose and the Buddhist mendicants, too, had followed them. These facts are stated in that treatise. This, too, supporting the aforesaid fact, proves that Nepal's trade was in highly flourishing state during the very sixth century B.C. These facts are the clear testimony that Nepal had developed its international trade during the very pre-ancient Nepal. It is also worth while to remember here the mention that Bhikkhu Ananda, the favourite disciple of the Lord, had come to Nepal along with the traders stated above. Again, during the reign of Ashoka, the Mauryan emperor of third century B.C., the Buddhist Bhikkhus in course of the propagation of their faith had arrived at the Himalayan region including Nepal. The Buddhist treatises along with other archaeological evidences have ascertained the fact to be true.

It has already been mentioned that the separate identity of Nepal was established during the pre-ancient Nepal. At the time mentioned the people was not well familiar with the Vedic Sanskrit. So, in those days the people's language which was later on known as Nepal Bhasha was in wide circulation in the society. Some of the words like Paladaan (पलदान),

which is Pali (पली) in modern tongue, belonging to Nepal Bhasha are also applied in the Vedas. The lines of Atharvaveda 9.3.17 are the instances of the fact. The finding of different non-Sanskrit words like गुड्०. हाह्मु. कुह्मु. छो and so on, applied in the post-ancient inscriptions has helped us to attest the above fact. But it seems that during that time Nepal could not establish herself as a powerful country. It is very difficult to say rightly whether Nepal in those days was a full-fledged independent state or not.

The Lichchhavis, who had come here from Vaishali, had started to exercise authority in Nepal from the very circa second century A.C. But it does not seem to be true that they were able to govern here with full authority up to fifth century A.C. I have already indicated about it. But, from the later half of fifth century A.C. the sentiment of respect for oneself had awakened among the dwellers of Nepal (नेपालवासी); the result was that their loyalty (devotion, attachment) towards nationality was very much arisen. The concept that this is my land and the people dwelling here should have to be well (auspicious) was intensely aggravated among them. The line like स्वस्ति नैपालेभ्यः i.e. `Let there be good to the dwellers of Nepal' applied in some of the inscriptions of post-ancient times has clearly pointed out towards the fact. Thus, according to the inscriptional evidence it seems certainly that in the history of Nepal there was quite excessive growth of the patriotic feelings among the people of Nepal from the post-ancient times. It is true that that sort of emotion among the people was in the state of profound repose during the pre-ancient period. The very aforesaid patriotic feeling is considered as the supporting pillar of Nepalese culture and on its very foundation the Nepal's own culture with new sprouts has truly been able to grow bushy and spread. Thus the post-ancient time is taken into consideration as the period of the origin of the Nepalese culture.

It seems to be worthwhile here to think over some coins like Shree Mananka and Shryamshoh, circulated during the post-ancient Nepal. In a variety of Shree Mananka coins, issued by king Manadeva, a lion with a lotus is shown engraved. The lion is in the posture of raising the lotus. It, thus, indicates towards the Puranic legend that Lord Vishnu had protected Shree Lakshmi, who, while churning the ocean, had come out of the ocean, from the hands of the demons. In conformity with the legend king Manadeva is symbolically shown as protecting the Rajya Lakshmi (the good fortune of a kingdom) with his valour. Thus it has made clear that Shree Manadeva had certainly established Nepal as a free and sovereign state. Again, in another variety of the very Shree Mananka coins a lion is shown engraved, saluting the flag, considered as the recognition of the independent existence of each and every country. Similarly, in a

variety of the coins issued by Amshuvarmma, a lion is shown holding the flag-staff. The finding of these coins of post-ancient times, supporting the aforesaid inscriptional evidence has made the recognition of independent and sovereign nature of Nepal as clear as crystal.

The social organization of post-ancient times was caused to erect on the foundation of the Varnashram system so to say the culture which had come down prevailing from the very vedic period. There will be no exaggeration to say something of the vedic legend regarding the origin of this culture. According to the vedic legend the origin of the four varnas like Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras had occurred from different parts of body like head, arms, thighs and feet respectively of the Supreme Being as Brahma. From this legend it comes to be known that the four varnas were originated in accordance to the actions they had done and there were no differentiation of high or low status among them. All of them had equally stridden forward in the respective duties enjoined on them. The Mahabharata Santiparvan 69/77 states that the four varnas were originated in accordance to their deeds. If there is any fault in some parts of body the very person is considered as the crippled one ; the result was that a proper impetus cannot be afforded in the social organization from that kind of body. The aforesaid ideal can be taken into consideration as being adjusted with the origin of the varna system. Thus it seems to be clear that the institution of varna was originated with a view to make vigorous our social organization.

If the system of varna is the foundation stone (base) of the social organization the institution of Ashrama is considered as the must for the development of the individual. The importance of individual in the society and the need of society for the individual are necessarily intermingled with one another. The system of Varnashram can be taken into consideration as the issue of this very fact. The Aryans had divided his society in four varnas alongwith their lives in four different stages. The four stages of their lives are as follows - Brahmacharyya, Grihastha, Vanaprastha and Sannyasa. Each and every order of life had its own strict rules with their special characteristics. So, they were known with the name Ashrama. It has already been mentioned that the origin of the institution of varna had occurred during the vedic period. Accordingly the institution of Ashrama came into existence during the very vedic period. The mention of the line ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या विन्दते पतिम् meaning `Through the spiritual effort of Brahmacharyya the girl receives a youthful husband.'in Rig.Veda points out towards the existence of Brahmacharyyashram, one of the four stages of life in those days. This is the clear instance of the fact that the institution of Ashrama was prevalent in the vedic society. the duties of the four varnas alongwith the four Ashrams are found to be stated in the treatise namely Taittiriya Brahmana. In Taittiriyopanishad the preceptor instructs his pupil, who,

remaining at the house of a Guru (Gurukula) , had finished his study, to go back home for leading a married life. In Brihadaranyakopanishad Yajnavalkya discloses his wish to his wife Maitreyi for leading a life of an ascetic. Again, the word अत्याश्रमिन् (atyashramin) is found to be stated in Shvetashvataropanishad 6.21. These are helpful to ascertain the aforesaid facts. The institution of Varnashram which had come down prevailing from the vedic period was also current during the post-ancient Nepal. The inscriptions of those days like the inscription of Chhatrachandeshvar located at Pashupati and which was installed during the reign of Shree Jishnugupta and the inscriptions of Balambu of the years 121 and 129 during the reign of Bhattaraka Maharaja Shree Shivadeva can be taken into consideration as instances. Again, the word द्विजातिभ्यो meaning `belonging to the first three castes (varnas) of the Aryans' is found to be recorded in an inscription located at Anantalingeshvar during the time of Maharajadhiraja Shree Narendradeva. A person over whom the Samskaras or purificatory rites are performed is called Dvijah. `जन्मना जायते शूद्र संस्कारैर्द्विज उच्यते ।' According to Yajnavalkya Smriti, Acharadhyayah the first three like Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya among the four varnas are known as Dvijah.

" मातुर्यदग्रे जायन्ते द्वितीये मौञ्जि बन्धनात् ।
ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय विशस्तस्मादेते द्विजा : स्मृत : ॥३९॥ "

These are the clear instances which prove that the institution of varna was prevalent in society during the post-ancient Nepal. Again, in different Sutra, Smriti and so on scriptures relating to our Dharmashastras emphasis is bestowed upon the necessity of following the Ashrama religion i.e. duties by the twice borns. Besides, the rules relating to the duties of their Ashrams are also found to be mentioned there. These are the clear instances which can be able to ascertain that the institution of Ashrama was current in the society of those days. Thus, with a view to make vigorous the social organization and for the development of individual the Varnashram system was brought into practice as the foundation stone of social organization of post-ancient Nepal. The institution was verily (truly) the vedic tradition so to say the vedic culture.

Again, the Aryans had given emphasis primarily on three things from the very Sutra and Smriti periods. They are known as the three debts namely Rishi, Deva and Pitri. One must have to be free from those three debts for attaining liberation. The later vedic literatures have, firstly, stated about the three debts. Besides, the scriptures have also shown the way to make free oneself from the debts. According to

Taittiriya Samhita 6.3.10.5 the first debt is paid to the rishis through maintaining Brahmacharyya or study of the vedas, the second one is paid to the gods through sacrifice and worship and the third one is paid to the manes (ancestors) through the procreation of a son. Ashvaghosh, a great scholar as well as a Buddhist monk of first century A.C., also in his Buddhacharitam, 9th sarga, sloka 65 has indicated towards the aforesaid three debts. According to him a person is born with three debts or obligations which he is bound to pay, otherwise he would not attain liberation. Although the clear-cut mention of the above-stated three obligations is not yet found recorded in the post-ancient inscriptions, the inscription located at Changu and dating back to Samvat 386 seems to be an exception of it . In that inscription Shree Manadeva, the Lichchhavi king, had expressed his view that he wanted to be free from the filial obligation (पितृऋण). This is the clear testimony of the fact that there was prevalence of the three obligations in the society of those days. The belief that the door of heaven will be closed to those if there is no progeny (offspring, descendants) is still current among the people dwelt here. Thus, it seems to be certainly true that the culture of the post-ancient times has deeply imprinted in the society of this day.

The Sutras, Smritis and so on Dharmashastra literatures have mentioned different sanctifications for the householders. Gautam Dharmasutra 8.14-20 has recommended the forty Dharmas for the householders whereas in Manusmriti 2.66 there are only twelve consecrations mainly dealt with for the purification of the body. Nothing is found to be mentioned clearly about the purificatory rites, which have come down prevailing among the Hindus from the ancient times, in the inscriptions of post-ancient Nepal. But, there are two instances, found to be engraved in two inscriptions of post-ancient times which clearly point out towards the prevalence of the system of purificatory rites during the period. The inscription located at Hadigaon and dating back to Samvat 30 mentions a goddess namely Shashthi, one of the sixteen mother goddesses and who is primarily the venerable goddess of a sacred or sanctifying ceremony conducted on the sixth day of the birth of the babies. Similarly the line `सत्पुत्रेण सहौर्द्धदेहिकविधिं भर्त्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मना ।' engraved in Changu inscription of Samvat 386 indicates towards the ceremony performed on a dead body. Shashthi, a revered goddess of purificatory rites, is also found to be mentioned in an inscription, located at Supiya in India and installed by Skandagupta, the Gupta emperor.

Again, it is also worthwhile to be remembered here that the line regarding the Shravanikadaan stated in an inscription of Hadigaon dated Samvat 30 is also taken as an important material for knowing the purificatory rite of those days. The mention of Shravanikadaan has not

only pointed out towards a sacred or sanctifying ceremony namely Upakarma but also has indicated in a clear manner towards the fact that an important festival was in circulation in those days. The day of full moon in Shravana relating to or produced under the Shravana nakshatra is called Shravani. It is also taken as a sacred tithi (a lunar day). The educational session (शैक्षिक सत्र) in ancient times was started from this very day. Shravani karma or Upakarma ceremony was performed in this day and only after the performance of preparatory rites as initiation the commencement of reading the veda was started. The meaning of Upakarman ceremony in ancient times was the beginning of the session of the vedic study. This day the twice borns (द्विज) as a whole, taking out their old sacred threads, put on a new one. This is the very reason why this full moon is also known with the name Janai Purnima. Thus, from the study of the aforesaid inscription it comes to be known that the Upakarma ceremony was in circulation during the post-ancient times.

The Shravanikadaan, mentioned in the aforesaid inscription, has afforded us the important material for knowing the ancientry of the festival namely Raakhi, conducted on the Shravani. During the Dharmasutra period the ceremony of Shravani Purnima was especially conducted with a view to give complete satisfaction to the snakes, considered as the symbol of evil (दुष्टता). The Shravani festival, prevalent these days, is the another form of the very Shravani of Dharmasutra period. The Raakhi which the friends fasten on the wrist of one another, the sisters bind on the wrist of their brothers and the Brahmins tie up on the wrist of the humans belonging to another varnas, was, infact, the vow as the symbol of unity among each other bound in their love and affection for having protection from the snakes so to say the wicked ones. According to the Puranas the background of Raakhi i.e. the festival of Rakshabandhan is also the same. The propitiation of the goddess Raksha is, first of all, apprehended in the very legend where Lord Vishnu, subduing the demon king Bali with deceit, had protected Dharma. The invocation of the goddess Raksha, stated in the Puranas, is an instance of it. It is the symbol of binding in the bondage of Dharma. "I bind you from that very thread which had bound the demon king Bali in the confinement of Dharma. O Rakshe , Do not move on, Do not move on." There is also a legend stated in the treatises like Harivamsha Purana and Uttaradhyayansutra belonging to the Jain religion which is befitted with the above-stated legend of the Hindu Puranas. In those Jain treatises it is stated that a sage Vishnu Kumar, who possessed the supernatural power, manifesting himself as a dwarf, had subdued the demon king Bali with deceit. The sage thus discharging the rishis from their troublesome state protected Dharma. Due to the above stated facts it is thought of as a great pious deed to afford something in charity i.e. to keep in mind the sentiment of generosity for the welfare of one another during the Shravani occasion. It is worthwhile to

be remembered that the very aim of the Rakshabandhan ceremony is to make his relatives, friends and yajamanas obliged in bond for a great liberality. With the finding of the above stated inscription it is proved that the Shravani festival was quite popular during the period. Because the king with his royal edict had managed for the Shravanikadaan. Later on, during the mediaeval age the importance of Rakshabandhan was very much increased due to the various historical factors. Because of the foreign invasion in the country the dignity and modesty of the womankind had fallen at the stake. So, the sisters, thinking that their honours would be guarded, had started to fasten the Raksha or Rakhi round the wrist of their brothers.

It has already been mentioned that the institution of varna was originated in accordance to the deeds of the humans. Truly speaking the institution of varna was, firstly, implemented among the very Aryans in accordance to division of labour. Men of different varnas lived jointly in the same family. There was no distinction of higher and lower status among them. The change of varna was easy and possible. The society was in the state of unsteady. But, during the later vedic period the social class started to become unswerving and immovable. In due order the varnas had started to become by birth. There are various reasons of it. Among them the following three points are noteworthy.

1. The tendency of keeping on an occupation permanently within the one and the same family ;
2. the social and economic selfishness of the higher classes ; and
3. the entrance of the non-Aryan elements gradually in society.

The social distinction started to become rigid with a view to keep on the purity of blood as well as feeling himself greatly honoured. Because of it there increased the exclusiveness in society. But the society had not yet become completely rigid and steady. Up till now the sudras and the women were not deprived of the vedas. The Yajurveda 26.2 announces aloud , "So may I speak these blessed words to the people at large : to the Brahmana and the Kshatriya, to the Sudra and the Vaishya ; to my own people and to the foreigner." Satapatha Brahmana 5.4.69 states that the four varnas like Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra were originated from Om, Bhu, Bhuva and Svah respectively. The marriage among those of different varnas was still possible. Kavasha Ailusha, a whore son, was a seer of Vedic hymns as recorded in Aitareya Brahmana 2.19-3. According to Taittiriya Samhita 1.8.9-1-2 the sudra was one of the nine ratnins of coronation.

According to the aforesaid statement although the society was not yet completely steady and rigid the social classes had become firm and steady ; the result was that the varnas had been gradually started to be originated according to birth. The Aitareya Brahmana has pointed out

towards the fact that the positions of the vaishyas and the sudras were going to be lowered down by degrees in society. According to that Brahmana the central focus of society was a noble or distinguished personage and the whole society walked around him like a wheel. The Brahmins were the soma drinkers (somapayi) as well as the wanderers of one's own accord (यथा कामचारी). The vaishyas were the others' food (अन्यस्य खाद्य:). The sudras might be caused to rise of one's own free will and they might even be killed in accordance with one's will (यथाकामोत्थाय: यथाकामवध्य:). From these facts it comes to be known that the varnas were started to be originated according to birth from the very later vedic period. So, there will be no exaggeration to say that the rise of the caste system had occurred from that very period ; the result was that the words varna and caste were started to be seen as indicative of the one and the same meaning. Whereas in true sense the varna is taken in accordance with the purificatory rite and the caste is taken by birth. The lines of the treatise namely Shabdartha Chintamani is helpful to prove this fact.

`तप: श्रुतं च योनिश्च त्रयं ब्राह्मण्यकारण ।

तप: श्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जाति ब्राह्मण एव स:॥'

The caste system coming down prevailing in society from the later vedic period was started to grow bushy with fruit bearing. This system was in common practice during the post-ancient Nepal, too. The inscriptions available here have ascertained the truth of the fact that different castes endured in Nepal of those days. Their generic distinction is determined in accordance with birth, not in accordance with action. From the study of the inscription, located at Adinarayansthan, Thankot, and dating back to Samvat 428 it will become clear that there were primarily the castes eighteen in number in those days. The copper-plate inscription of Hirahadgalli, located at India and dating back to circa fourth century A.C., too, has indicated towards the fact to be true. The copper-plate inscription of Lalitsur has made it clear that the recognition of the castes numbering eighteen had remained as it was up to tenth century A.C. Although the caste system had established as a part and parcel of the post-ancient culture it can be presumed that the caste system prevalent in those days was not very much rigid. It seems that the inscription of Mandasor, dating back to fifth century A.C. has helped us to prove the aforesaid assumption. The inscription states that the people who were originally silk-weavers in the Lata country, when they settled at Dasapur, adopted different professions, such as that of an archer , a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic. This shows the looseness of the caste restrictions about the time of the record. Again, the inter-caste marriage, too, was current in those days. From the

Tibetan and the Chinese historical materials it has come to be known that the marriage of Bhrikuti, considered as a daughter of Shree Amshuvarmma, with Srong-btsan, the Tibetan emperor, had occurred at about the seventh century A.C. Similarly, the marriage of Prabhavati Gupta, a daughter of Chandra Gupta, the Gupta emperor of fourth century A.C., had occurred with the Vakataka king, a brahmin. These instances clearly point out towards the fact that there was the looseness of caste restriction during the period. But it is not to be forgotten here that the word Chandala is applied in an inscription of Anantalingeshvar, dated Samvat 80. According to Manusmriti the chandalas are the untouchables proving that there was untouchability in those days. Fa-Hien, a Chinese traveller of fourth century A.C., has mentioned the matter in his travelogue. He says that when they enter the gate of a city or a market place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men know and avoid them, and do not come into contact with them. This tradition was prevalent up to eighteenth, nineteenth century A.C.

The caste system started from the later vedic period had become an inseparable part of the social organization of post-ancient Nepal. Although the caste system was not very much strict in the then society, it had become too much rigid during the mediaeval and the modern period. Besides, there increased in the number of castes, too. King Jayasthiti Malla of fourteenth century A.C. had created eighty two castes in number. This fact is stated in a clear manner in his Jatimala. But, during the very mediaeval period thirty six castes were primarily in wide circulation in Nepal. The social organization of mediaeval and modern Nepal was mainly based in the very caste system and the caste rigidity was very much increased about the time. From all these facts it seems to be certain that caste system was one of the part of post-ancient culture; which is beyond doubt.

From the study of the coins circulated in post-ancient Nepal and the inscriptions of those days it can be found to be known many many things about the religion, the philosophy prevalent at that time. The letters as well as the emblems inscribed in the coins of those days have clearly indicated the fact that the people of post-ancient times were very much inclined towards the monistic philosophy. The emblems, engraved in the Pashupati coins, are the evidences that the rulers of post-ancient times, who had issued those coins, had the philosophic vision of apprehending one in many. Different gods like the Sun, the Moon, the Fire and so on and the emblems of their ornaments are engraved in the very coin, with the inscription like Pashupati. This sort of engraving can be taken here as the instance of showing unity in diversity of the gods. It is true that the names of different gods and goddesses are inscribed in the Kushana coins showing the religious tolerance infixed in the Kushana emperors. But it does not seem to have shown any unity among the various deities in the Kushan coins as it was done in our post-ancient coins.

With the highest place to a god or goddess no names or figures of gods are engraved in the coins as we have in our Pashupati coins. Thus, it is known that in this sense the Pashupati coins are of special significance which proves that the monistic sentiment was prevalent in the society of those days. An inscription, engraved in the pedestal of an image of Saurishvar, located at Devapattan and dating back to Samvat 487, declares the truth of the fact afforded to us from the study of the aforesaid coins. According to the statement stated in that inscription the Sun and the god Shiva with a view to eliminate the partiality of the worldly persons who are lost in confusion due to the biasness produced with their deep devotions in different gods, had made a particular form consisting of Sun and Shiva conjoined. The inscription has clearly shown the fact that the god is not Dvaita (dual) but Advaita (not dual). In this very context the image with four kinds of appearance like Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva in three sides with standing posture and an image of standing Gauri in the remaining one side can be taken into consideration. All four deities stand facing front on a large Jalahari or base. The sculpture is fully carved in the round. The image which was formerly installed at Swadha (Teendhara) in Kathmandu is now placed in the courtyard of Rashtriya Naachghar. Because the image of Gauri is also engraved along with Tri-murti (Trayakshar) there will be no doubt that the Hindu triad along with the Primeval power was shown as the symbol of the supreme spirit. Besides these facts, it is worthwhile to be remembered here that the gods like Brahma and Vishnu are shown springing from the body of Ardhanarishvar (half male and half female) of about eighth, ninth century A.C., stored in the collection of Shree Balakrishna Sama. With the finding of this image, too, it seems to be proved that one in many and many in one are the motto of the culture of those days.

The rulers of those days had made none of the religions as the State religion and they had given equal opportunity to all of them for their growth. The study of the inscriptions, the images, the monasteries and so on of those days has clearly indicated towards the fact. It is not to be forgotten here that most probably in the history of Nepal His Majesty the late King Mahendra, relinquishing the religious freedom the Nepalese people had enjoyed since the ancient times and which was an important factor in our religious history, had, firstly, declared Nepal as a Hindu State in this modern world.

The coins and the inscriptions of post-ancient Nepal have thrown light on the basic ideals of government. The letters like Kamadohi and the figures of Kamadhenu cow and her calf, suckling the udder of her mother, are inscribed in the Vaishravana type of coin, issued by the king Shree Shivadeva of seventh century A.C. Kamadhenu is also one of the fourteen different jewels produced at the churning of the ocean and she is capable of fulfilling the desires of everyone else. It will not be inappropriate to mention here that the coin bearing the legend Kamadohi

along with a cow and a calf suckling the udder of her mother aims at the symbolical indication of the duties on the part of the government. Since the government emerges from the people, symbolizing the sea, it resembles the wish-fulfilling cow Kamadhenu. Kamadhenu is known as the wish-fulfilling cow and fulfills every desire. So also the case with the state of government which, too, fulfills all the desires of the people. These are the very reasons why the Lichchhavi king Shree Shivadeva had issued the coin with the aforesaid figures engraved therein. Thus a ruler, preferring the good of his subjects in mind, is inevitable to govern the people in accordance with their will, not on the authority of his own. This is certainly the main theme of the ruler and the government.

Again, in an inscription located at Pashupati and dating back to Samvat 157 it is stated that Bhattaraka Maharaja Shree Jayadeva followed the policy of Yoga Kshema. There is found to be mentioned in Yajnavalkyasmriti about Yoga and Kshema. According to that Smriti acquisition and preservation (of property), gain and security, preserving the old and acquiring the new (not previously obtained) are known as Yoga Kshema. अलब्धलाभो योगः i.e.` the acquisition of not obtained is Yoga' and लब्धपरिपालनं क्षेमः i.e. `to preserve the acquired is Kshema'. Pointing out towards this very sense Kautilya in his Arthashastra has indicated that a ruler is necessarily to be skilled in Yoga Kshema.

`That sceptre on which the well-being and progress of the science of Anvikshaki, the triple vedas, and varta depend is known as Danda (punishment). That which treats of Danda is the law of punishment or science of government (dandaniti).

It is a means to make acquisitions, to keep them secure, to improve them, and to distribute among the deserved the profits of improvement. It is on this science of government that the course of the progress of the world depends.'

- Kautilya's Arthashastra. Adhi. I, Ch.4

Thus, in our ancient tradition it is found to be stated that what kind of person should be selected for the rulership i.e. kingship. In accordance to the laws, concerning the selection of the rulers, formulated in our ancient Dharma and Arthashastra literatures it seems that the very laws were in practice in the science of government of post-ancient times. The Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta dating back to fifth century A.C., too, states that the burden of government should be given to that person who is capable in Yoga Kshema. It seems that it has also supported the above assumption.

According to the statements stated in Sruti, Smriti and so on treatises even a rightful thing the king should do only on the advice of

the ministers. The king had no authority to govern without the approval and cooperation of the ministers. According to Mahabharata V.37.38 a king should compulsorily depend upon his ministers just as animals depend on cloud, the Brahmins on the Vedas and wives on their husbands. According to Kautilya Book I, Ch. IX, regal concern consists of three different forms viz. Pratyaksa, Paroksa, and Anumeya. Besides, all sorts of royal affairs do not take place simultaneously, rather several activities are carried out at various places. And a king alone would not be able to handle all kinds of monarchical duties. As such appointment of Amatyas, Mantris (ministers) who would go on offering counsel to the king in administrative work, has become of dire necessity. So, the king, appointing ministers, should have to pay attention earnestly to their advice. If they are not beside and they are at a distance the king should take their opinion through correspondence and do accordingly (Arthashastra, Book I, Ch.XV). From all these facts it comes to be known that the king was simply the nominal head of the state and the real power of the state affairs was in the hands of the ministers. According to Divyavadana the Mauryan emperor Ashoka wanted to donate some money as gifts to the Kukkutarama monastery. But the ministers opposed and did not allow him to spend the national property at random. Thus, the emperor could not give money as gifts to the monastery. From all the aforesaid facts along with other different materials it seems to be certain that the kings in ancient times had to function their state affairs only in accordance with the advice given to him by his ministers. The rulers of post-ancient Nepal governed their country in accordance to the laws enunciated in the Dharmashastras. So, they had ruled their country with the help of their ministers. It has been clearly described in the Changu inscription, dated Samvat 386 that Shree Shankar Dev, the grand father of Shree Manadev, protected the earth by ruling with the assistance of his courtiers. A glimpse of this fact is clearly reflected by the word Vinita Bhritya in the inscription, located at Swayambhu. From the study of these very facts it is certainly known that there was no diarchy in post-ancient times. Some of the historians, on the bases of the facts stated in post-ancient inscriptions, that Bhattaraka Maharaja Shree Shivadeva had extended favour in accordance with the advice of Mahasamanta Shree Amshuvarma and Shree Jishnu Gupta had represented, as an executive of Bhattaraka Maharaja Shree Dhruvadeva and Shree Bhimarjunadeva, have pointed out towards the existence of dual government here in post-ancient Nepal. But their conclusion does not seem to be true. It has already been mentioned that the king should have to govern only with the counsel of ministers, that is to say, with unanimity with them as recorded in our ancient polity. So, I think, it is unnecessary to repeat the same here. It seems that this very tradition of polity was also adopted during the reign of Shah-Rana rulers of modern times. The evaluation of the Rana regime in Nepal can be done in this very context.

Although Nepal was known to the world with the name of the country of temples, no noted instances of our ancient temples are yet to be found. It is a matter of great shock in our part. But, the historical materials so far found here have helped us to ascertain the truth of the fact that the style of the building construction of the post-ancient times was vedic so to say the Chhatra (umbrella). The miniature models of temples, constructed during the post-ancient times, are found installed at Pashupati Rajrajeshvari Ghat and at Lele village of Lalitpur. Those temples have sloping roofs. So, it seems that they were certainly constructed in vedic style. A small stone-made temple of one-faced Shivalinga, installed at Rajrajeshvari Ghat of Pashupati, is of the aforesaid style. Similarly, the stone-made temples of Lele village are considered as the instances. Thus, the models of the small stone made temples have afforded us about the architectural style of those days. It is worthwhile to think over the royal building of Maharajadhiraja Shree Narendradeva, stated in Tang Annals. The building was seven storied, roofed with copper tiles as recorded in that Annals. It is pointed out clearly towards the fact that the building was made in the very above-mentioned vedic style, because the building is said to have seven storeys roofed with copper tiles. The houses with copper tiles or brick tiles are compared to the back of the elephant, rising in the middle and sloping towards the end on both sides. This was the very reason why the vedic seers had compared the building structures of those days with the She-Elephant. The Atharvaveda 9.3.17 is helpful to prove this fact. From all these facts it does not seem to be exaggeration to say that this sort of architectural style is the vedic one. But later on this style became famous with different names like Devala, Chhatra, Nepal, Newar, Pagoda and so on. This style was so much popular in Nepal that not only the temples and the palaces but also the buildings of the commoners were constructed in this very style. The buildings so far found here with certain exceptions are taken as the instances.

This vedic style is very much useful for the regions where the heavy rains and snowfalls occur. As the roof is sloping the snows do not remain for a long period of time over it. That's why this sort of architectural style is especially seen in the Himalayan regions. In Kashmir, too, this sort of temples are found installed. Later on, this style got so much fame that the architecture of the style spread even to the distant south Indian regions.

The above considerations have clearly pointed out towards the fact that it was the usual practice of adopting architectural structures in vedic style, prevalent in post-ancient times. The clear indication of this fact is found out in the post-ancient inscription of Matin Devakula, located at Lalitpur Sundhara. The inscription, dated Samvat 34 refers indeed to the construction of the temple of Matin with bricks and wood, and the provision, particularly, of doors and windows, also of wood.

According to Dr. N.R.Banerjee the style of temples implied by the details of component parts and building materials points to the Devala shrine rather than to the Sikhara shrine. Thus it is known that the architecture of post-ancient times was constructed in vedic style.

Although the tradition of constructing the temples and the buildings in vedic style was in common practice in post-ancient times, the monasteries, the stupas, and the small chaityas, too, were constructed in those days. Inscriptions are engraved in some of the chaityas which also help us definitely to know the dating of the construction of the chaityas. Again, some chaityas known as Ashoka chaityas were constructed during the post-ancient times. It is worthwhile to quote here the Chinese traveller Hiuen tsiang's travelogue. "There are believers and heretics mixed together. The Sangharamas and Deva temples are closely joined. There are about 2000 priests, who study both the Great and Little Vehicle." Hiuen tsiang has stated in his travelogue that there were many monasteries in the then Nepal. The inscriptions of those days are the evidences of the fact. In an inscription of Chabahil dating back to circa sixth century A.C. there is mention of a monastery constructed at the time of the record. In the walls of that building the paintings relating to Kinnari Jataka were painted. The lines of Chabahil inscription are as follows -

`सङ्ख्य सुचिरङ्कालम्भवनम्भवविच्छिदः
किन्नरीजातकाकीर्णन्नानाचित्रविराजितम् ॥'

From the study of this inscription it is clearly to be indicated towards the fact that the monastery was constructed at Chabahil during the reign of Bhattaraka Maharaj Shree Manadeva. Other monasteries of his time are as follows - Shree Manadev Vihara, Shree Chakra Vihara. Besides these monasteries there are other many monasteries, stated in the inscriptions of those days. Again, the three palaces like Shree Managriha, Shree Kailashakuta, and Shree Bhadradhivasa can be taken as the instances of architecture of those days. But Oh ! those palaces are now disappeared in the womb of archaeology. It has become inevitable to investigate them now.

Besides the art of building construction there was too much development in the field of iconography, too, during the period. Truly speaking this period on the basis of the icons so far found here can be considered as the golden age in the history of Nepal. The fine icons were started to be made in Nepal from the very last quarter of the pre-ancient period. An icon of Gaja Lakshmi installed at Lalitpur Chyasaltole, and a Yaksha image of Hadigaon, which is now displayed at Nepal Museum, are the fine specimens of the period. A few representative icons of that period can be considered as the following -

1. the images of Matrikas, installed at the compound of Kirtipur Baghbhairav temple;
2. the images of Matrikas, installed at the compound of Hadigaon Satyanarayan temple;
3. the image of Hariti, installed at Balaju;
4. the image of Hariti, installed at Haugalbahal, Lalitpur;
5. the image of Dhumravaraha, installed at Dhumvarahi;
6. the image of Kalabhairav, installed at Hanuman Dhoka Darbar Square;
7. the image of Budhanilakantha, installed at Shivapuri;
8. the image of Hanuman, installed at Pharping Narayansthan;
9. the image of Vishwaroop, installed at Changu Narayansthan;
10. the image of Dattatreya, installed at Chapagaon;
11. the image of Buddha, installed at Banepa;
12. the image of Buddha, installed at Bangemudha;
13. the image of Bodhisattva, installed at Bhotebahal.

Except those images there are other innumerable fine images. Again, the bronze images, too, were constructed in those days. A gold-coated Buddha image of circa sixth, seventh century A.C., stored at Sankhu Khadgayoginisthan can be taken here as an instance. Another gold-coated bronze image of circa tenth century A.C. also is stored there.

It seems there was good prosperity in the field of paintings, too. The very aforesaid Chabahil inscription is an evidence of this fact. According to the accounts stated in that inscription the paintings based on the legend of Kinnari Jataka were painted in the walls of the building. Besides it, the Chinese Tang Annals, too, have supported the fact. The houses are constructed of wood and the walls of these are sculptured and painted as recorded in Tang Annals. Again, there were five colours especially applied while writing the paintings in those days. The inscription located at Gorkha and dating back to Samvat 122 mentions the words पञ्चरङ्गचित्रकर्मण: ascertaining the truth of the fact stated above. Besides, the words पञ्चरङ्ग (the five colours) are found to be mentioned in the drama called Mrichchhakatikam, composed by Sudraka during the first or second century A.C. These facts help us to come into conclusion that the five colours were generally used while writing paintings in those days. It has become necessary now to have right knowledge regarding the colours of the five colours. According to Vamana Purana the names of the five colours are as follows - white, red, golden, blue, and yellow. But the five colours as recorded in the Buddhist treatise called Ekallavira Chandamaharoshanatantra as the following - white, red, yellow, blue, and black. From the study of these mentions it is known that the aforesaid five colours were used in those days while writing the paintings.

Both of the Hindu and the Buddhist religions were very much flourished in the then Nepal. With the finding of the innumerable number

of gods of both religions along with the great number of Buddhist monasteries we have been able to ascertain the truth of the above fact. A lot of inscriptions relating to the Hindu and the Buddhist religions of those days are found to be installed here. According to those inscriptions the government of those days had afforded some villages to the religious sects of both the above stated religions. They were given the right of enjoying all the local incomes of those villages. The inscription of Pashupati Vajraghar, dated Samvat 103 and the inscription, located at Lagan Vishnumandir and dating back to Samvat 119 are the instances of the fact. It seems that the travelogue of Hiuen tsiang, too, as stated earlier had found out precisely the fact that the Hinduism and the Buddhism were very much flourished during the post-ancient period.

While accepting the fact that both of the aforesaid religions were in the flourishing state we must have to concede with this matter that there lacked in everyway the religious harmony among different religious sects and there was hostility among them. The hearsays, widely current in Nepal, have afforded us the knowledge of this fact. During the beginning of post-ancient times there had occurred a great struggle between the Hindus and the Buddhists at Vishalnagar area of Kathmandu, in which thousands of people had sacrificed their lives in the name of religion. This deplorable event of history is the chief topic of our hearsay. Similarly, in Lalitpur there is a wide circulation of hearsay that in ancient times there occurred a great struggle between the Hindus and the Buddhists at the locality of Hiranyavarna monastery in Lalitpur. In the struggle the Buddhists, killing a large number of Hindu Brahmins, had buried them inside the main gate of that monastery. That is the very reason why the Hindu Brahmins do not go inside the monastery up till now. These are the facts we have had from the hearsays. Besides the hearsays, the inscriptions also have provided us some instances of the fact. The names like Kutarkkika (कुतार्किक), Kumati (कुमति) and Amhasavritah (अंहसावृत:) etc. etc. are ascribed to the Buddhists in a pillar inscription of Anuparam (circa sixth century A.C.). The pillar is erected just before the Satyanarayan temple of Hadigaon. This fact clearly indicates towards the existence of hostility between the Hindus and the Buddhists. Again, an inscription inscribed in a pedestal of an image of Saurishvara, dated Samvat 487 and located at Pashupatipattan has indicated towards the existence of enmity among different religious sects in the days of the record. In that inscription it is stated that the Lord with a view to maintain friendship without creating any disputes among different religious sects had made a particular form of deity consisting of Sun and Shiva conjoined. It has also clearly indicated towards the fact to be true. From all these facts it seems to be certain that although there did not occur any great struggle like crusade in Mediaeval Europe there was some sort of hostility among different religious sects during the post-ancient Nepal.

The social organization of post-ancient Nepal was formed in conformity with the laws, formulated in Sruti, Smriti and so on Dharmashastras. The rulers of those times also governed their subjects in accordance with those laws. King Manadeva ruled his country in accordance with the laws stated in Sruti, Smriti and all that relating to code of laws as recorded in Kelatole inscription is worthwhile to be remembered here. The social life of those days was based in the Varnashram system. To maintain the duties of the institution of Varna was inevitable for all the people. To deviate from the institution of Varna is known as Dharmasanker. Because that sort of action brings into play the corruption in social and religious field ; the result will be that the world will come to an end owing to the confusion of castes and duties. Kautilya Arthashastra has clearly indicated towards this fact (Kautilya Arthashastra 1.3.4-15). Kamandaka 2.9.35, too, has thrown light in this matter. There is also indication of this fact in the Buddhist treatise called Majjhimanikaya. Thus, the violation of the observance of one's own duty creates a dreadful situation before the nation. So, the writers of the Code of Laws have stated that one of the chief duties of the ruler is to let the members of the four varnas implement their respective dharmas (duties) indicated by the Code of Laws and the Usage current in the society. Vashishtha Dharmasutra 19.4 and Manusmriti 8.41 are its evidences. In this very context the inscription located at Bungamati and dating back to Samvat 29 can be taken into consideration. It is stated in that inscription that except the work relating to Dharmasanker all other works were handed over in the hands of the local people. With the mention that the court of the king would examine the works relating to Dharmasanker it comes to be known that the king was aware in those days for the protection of the social organization based on the institution of Varnashram.

During the post-ancient Nepal the women used to go to Sati at the time of the death of their husbands. But sometimes the women spent the life of widow instead of going to immolate herself on her husband's pyre. An inscription of Changu, dated Samvat 386 is its evidence. Rajyavati had wanted to go to Sati along with the dead body of his husband the king Dharmadeva. But she, leaving out the idea of going to Sati had accepted to spend the life of a widow at the request of his son king Manadeva. In an inscription, located at Eran and dating back to 191 Gupta era (510 A.C.) it is stated that after the death of Goparaj in the battlefield his wife had burned herself on her husband's pyre. Thus, it testifies that Suttee system was current in Nepal of those days. But, the Suttee system of those days was not so rigid and strict as it was during the mediaeval times. The reluctant women could remain at home without going to Suttee. And such widows, who had not gone to Suttee, maintaining the usages of chastity, liberality, self restraint and fast with her full capacity used to spend their lives. The aforesaid Changu inscription is an evidence of the fact. The tradition of Suttee system lasted here in Nepal up to early

quarter of twentieth century.

According to the laws formulated in Sruti, Smriti and so on Dharmashastra literatures the widows were given right to remarry sometimes in those days. The lines of Rig.veda 10.4.42, Atharvaveda 9.5.27-28, and Taittiriya Samhita 3.2.4.4 are the instances of the widow marriage current in vedic times. According to Vivaha Vidhi the widow marriage is prohibited. But, in some situations our writers of the Code of Laws and of the Political economy have given their assents to widow marriage. At the instance of hostility between the husband and the wife Kautilya had given his sanction concurrence for the separation of a husband or wife. Besides, according to Kautilya the woman will be able to make free herself from the husband if he is a mean, a sojourner, a mutineer, a murderer, a degraded and an eunuch (Arthashastra 3.2.59). The widows could remarry in another occasions, too, as recorded in Kautilys's Arthashastra 3.4.

According to Parashar Smriti 4.24 a widow had the liberty of marrying second times, if her husband was deprived of social status, became an impotent, a recluse, a degraded as well as a dead. In conformity with the very Parashar, Narada's Code of Law 12.97, too, has laid stress in the matter. Lakshmidhar, a great scholar of mediaeval age, has extracted Devala in his treatise called Krityakalpataru, Vyabaharakanda, Stripunyoga. According to that extraction a woman could abandon her husband in the following occasions like if he was deprived of social status, became an ascetic, an eunuch, a degraded, tormented from the royal authority, a roamer in far off countries. These different sacred injunctions, stated in the treatises relating to the Code of Laws, were executed in post-ancient Nepal, too. This fact can easily be presumed with the finding of the words like if the husband is dead, is lost, became a recluse, and degraded, applied in an inscription located at Maligaon and dating back to Samvat 57. Thus, it is known that the tradition of widow marriage was prevalent during the post-ancient Nepal.

If there occurred the death of a pregnant woman her dead body would not be kept over the funeral pyre until and unless her baby, situated in the womb would not be taken out. The Naxal Narayanchaur inscription of the time of Jayadev II and the inscription of Pashupati Vajraghar, dated Samvat 103 have afforded us some knowledge about the matter. These days while carrying away the dead body of a pregnant woman to the cremation ground the husband of the dead breaks an egg of a duck outside the house. This tradition is still current here resembling the tradition of taking out the baby situated in the womb as stated above.

There are very few materials we have these days which will help us for knowing the life of the common people of post-ancient times. The Chinese historical materials have afforded us a little knowledge about

the period. In those days both of the male as well as the female ones used to wear ornaments. But, prior to the year 64 the common people were not given the right of wearing the ornaments, made of gold and silver. That was the very reason why the Tang Annals had mentioned that the inhabitants of Nepal pierce their ears and suspend therein tubes made of bamboo or horn of cattle. Later on, on the above stated date the common people were given the right of wearing all kinds of ornaments made of gold and silver except Padak (an ornament for neck), Keyura (a bracelet worn on upper arm) and Nupura (an anklet) during the reign of Bhattaraka Maharaja Shree Bhimarjunadeva. The males also used to put on ornaments along with the females. This fact is known to us from the accounts, stated in Tang Annals. "Their king, Nalingtipa (Narendradeva) adorns himself with true pearls, rock crystal, mother of pearl, coral and amber; he has in the ears rings of gold and pendants of jade, and a breloc belt ornamented with the figure of the Buddha." The males in Nepal wear some ornaments uptill now. Wearing ornaments is a part of our culture.

According to the Tang Annals the inhabitants of Nepal have the custom to shave their hair just to the level of the eye-brows. They clothe themselves with a single piece of cloth which envelops the body. It seems that the cloth was no other than the upper garment. They bathe themselves several times a day. All their utensils as stated in Tang Annals were made of copper, and they ate with their hands without using spoons or sticks.

According to the accounts, stated in Tang Annals, " the merchants there, moving and stationary, are numerous; cultivators, rare. They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse. (New History : They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse and a bull and which have no hole in the middle.)". The figure of horse was, first of all, seen in the very coins of Jishnugupta. The figure of bull also was primarily seen in the Pashupati coins. From these facts it seems to be certain that the accounts of Nepal, stated in Tang Annals, were written only after the period of Shree Jishnugupta. As recorded in Tang Annals " the people of those days adore five celestial spirits and sculpture their images in stone. Each day they wash them with purifying water. They roast a lamb and offer it in sacrifice." The tradition of sacrificing lamb while constructing a new house is still prevalent here, which has thrown light on the aforesaid tradition. They were fond of scenic plays and they took pleasure in blowing trumpets and beating drums. The people of those days, letting the beasts fight with one other, used to take pleasure. The word Mallayuddha applied in some inscriptions of those days is helpful to ascertain the truth of the fact. In those days the people had conducted jatras with a view to enjoy amusements. Mandapiyatra, Dvarodghatana Kailashakutayatra and so on were such jatras of those days.

Again, the bridges were started to be constructed for the development of trade and transport from the very period of Bhattaraka Maharaja Shree Shivadeva. In a variety of coin bearing the legend Vaishravana and Kamadohi a cow and a calf, suckling the udder of her mother, the cow, are shown standing over a bridge made of stone or wood. Similarly in another variety of coin also dating back to circa eighth century A.C. and bearing the legend Pashupati a bull is shown standing over a bridge made of stone or wood. It seems that these instances ascertain the truth of the aforesaid fact.

The materials which give us the knowledge about the intellectual side of the people of our post-ancient Nepal are very much scanty. But the inscriptional evidences so far found here, as well as the historical materials have thrown light to some extent about it. The Brahmi script alongwith the Sanskrit language were especially applied in the inscriptions including the royal edicts in those days. But, the language named as Nepal Bhasha these days was widely in circulation as the people's language in those days. The innumerable number of non-Sanskrit words applied in the then inscriptions have ascertained the truth of the fact. The Sruti, Smriti, Itihas-Purana and so on scriptures alongwith the dramatics personaes of the Puranas are found to be mentioned in the inscriptions of those days. Again, Hiuen-tsiang has stated that Amshuvarmma, the then ruler of Nepal, had written a treatise on Grammar. Narendradev, the Lichchhavi king, was a great scholar of tantric literature. The mention that he was a knower of Agamshastra in an inscription located at Yangalhiti, dated Samvat 67 can be taken as the instance of the fact. Besides these facts there was well development in the field of literature, too. Bharavi, the grandson of king Manadeva, was a celebrated poet. In the same way Jayadev, the Lichchhavi king, and Buddhakirti, the composers of Pashupati inscription, dated Samvat 157 are taken as the representative poets of the period. Jayadev was most probably the second king of Indian sub-continent after Harshavardhan, the great emperor of Magadha, whose works are found these days. Again, according to Tang Annals the inhabitants of Nepal were expert in astrology or astronomy and the study of the tithis applied in the inscriptions of the then Nepal has ascertained the truth of the fact. They were also the Calendar makers. These different facts, indicating towards the well development in the field of education in the then Nepal, have afforded us the knowledge regarding the varieties of subjects which were studied during the period. The very temples and the monasteries were the centres of learning in those days and the income of the village, obtained as an Agrahara (a grant of land given by kings for sustenance) financed the necessary expense of those educational institutions. Books were hard to get (rare) in those days; the result was that the students could hardly get books for studying. So the education was started to be imparted to students in conformity with the very system of Vedic teaching. In this matter the travelogue of Fa Hien is worthwhile to be

remembered. Fa Hien writes, "the pupils should have to hear, remember and think the words of the preceptor." This system was just like Shravana (the act of hearing), Manana (thinking or understanding) and Nididhyasana (constant musing), stated in the Upanishads. The learned Brahmins were known as Bhatta. Female education also was in circulation alongwith male ones. An inscription located at Suryaghat, Pashupati and dating back to Samvat 427 states that Vijayavati, the princess, was very proficient or skilled in various practical arts. The mention clearly indicates towards the fact that the traditional sixty-four kalas were given to the students in those days. According to Kamasutra 1,3.16 a cultured lady is expected to master in the traditional sixty-four kalas. Thus, it proves that the female education was prevalent in the then society. The contribution of Bhrikuti is unforgettable in the spread of Buddhism in Tibet as well as in cultural awakening there. Acharya Sheelamanju, the great Buddhist scholar, too, had contributed a lot in the cultural development of Tibet. From all these facts there will be no divergent of views regarding the matter that the Nepalese culture of post-ancient times had made its lasting influence not only within the Nepalese sky but also in the outer world, too. The finding of the artifacts made by the Nepalese artists in the excavation of Tun Huang in middle Asia has helped us to ascertain the truth of the fact.

References

1. Rig.Veda, Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, New Delhi, 2039
2. Yajurveda, ,, ,, ,,
3. Atharvaveda, ,, ,, ,,
4. Ishadidashopanishadah, Motilal Banarsidass, 1978
5. Mahabharata, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 2045
6. Yajnavalkya Smriti, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Sansthan, Varanasi, 2033
7. Manusmriti
8. Kalyan - Vamana Purananka, Varsha 56 Sankhya 1
9. Mahakavi Ashvaghosh : Buddhacharitam, Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 1966
10. Shudraka : Mrichchhakatikam, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 2019
11. Kautaliya Arthashastra, Sanskrit Pustakalaya, Lahore, 1925
12. Dr. Rajbali Pandeya : Hindu Dharma Kosh, Uttarpradesh Hindi Sansthan, Lucknow, 1978
13. Dr. Rajbali Pandeya : Bharatiya Nitika Vikas, Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1965
14. Shukraraj Shastri : Shree Maharshi Madhav Raj Joshi Ka Jeevan Charitra, 2015
15. Radhakrishna Chowdhury : Prachin Bharat Ka Rajnitik Evam Sanskritik Itihas, Bharati Bhavan, Patna, 1993
16. Satyaketu Vidyalankar : Bharatiya Sanskriti Aur Usaka Itihas, Sarashvati Sadan, Mussorie, 1968
17. Dr. Jayashankar Mishra : Prachin Bharat Ka Samajik Itihas, Bihar Hindi Grantha Academy, Patna, 1986
18. Ramesh Chandra Datta : Prachin Bharat Ki Sabhyata Ka Itihas, Itihas Prakashan Sansthan, Allahabad, 1966
19. Dr. Basudev Upadhyaya : Gupta Abhilekh, Bihar Hindi Grantha Academy, Patna, 1974
20. Rahul Sankrityayan : Kumaon
21. Shree Ram Goel : Prachin Nepal Ka Rajnitik Aur Sanskritik Itihas, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1973
22. Hari Ram Joshi : Abhinava Sanskriti Kosh (unpublished)
23. Hari Ram Joshi : Uttarprachinkalin Mudra, Sajha Prakashan, 2033
24. Hari Ram Joshi : Nepalko Prachin Abhilekh, Royal Nepal Academy, 2030
25. Hari Ram Joshi : Hamro Sanskriti, Department of Information, 2037, 2040
26. Hari Ram Joshi : Nepali Sanskriti, 2028
27. K.P.Jayaswal : Hindu Polity, The Bangalore Printing And Publishing Co. Ltd., Bangalore, 1978
28. Mary S. Slusser : Nepal Mandala, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1982
29. D.C.Sircar : Select Inscriptions, Vol.I, University of Calcutta, 1965

30. Kautilya's Arthashastra, Tr. by Dr. R. Shamasastry, Padam Printers, Mysore, 1988
31. Lain S. Bangdel : The Early Sculptures of Nepal, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.,1982
32. Dr. A.S.Altekar : Education In Ancient India, Nand Kishore & Bros., Varanasi, 1957
33. Abinash Chandra Bose : The Call Of The Vedas, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960
34. Samuel Beal : Si-yu-ki Buddhist Records Of The Western World, Oriental Reprint, 1983
35. James Legge : A Record Of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Asian Educational Services, 1993
36. H.A.Giles : The Travels of Fa-Hsien, Indological Book House, 1972
37. Dr. N.R.Banerjee : Nepalese Architecture
38. Hari Ram Joshi : Pages Of The Forgotten Past, Joshi Research Institute, 1991
39. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta : Coins, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1979
40. Rolamba, Journal of Joshi Research Institute
41. A.A.Macdonell and A.B.Keith : Vedic Index, Motilal Banarsidass, 1982

306.0899145
J 776m

306.0954 96
J 77877